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Chairman: Mr. KARUKUBIRO-KAMUNANWIRE (Uganda)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 34 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA: HEARINGS

The CHAIRMAN: This afternoon, the Committee will continue and conclude its hearings in connection with agenda item 34, "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa", by hearing the remaining speakers.

Members will recall that, in connection with this agenda item, which will be considered directly in plenary meeting, the General Assembly has decided that organizations and individuals having a special interest in the question of apartheid will be permitted to be heard by the Special Political Committee. At its 2nd meeting, on 9 October 1990, the Committee decided to set a deadline of 15 November for the submission of requests for a hearing and to consider all requests received by that date at a meeting prior to the hearings. The requests for a hearing, contained in documents A/SPC/45/L.3 and Add.1 to 8 were subsequently approved by the Committee at its 16th meeting, on 19 November.

I appeal to all speakers to confine their remarks to the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa. I also appeal to speakers to speak slowly and make their statements at a speed that will enable the interpreters to keep pace with them and will facilitate the task of the verbatim reporters and press officers.

The first speaker is Mr. Michael Johns of the Heritage Foundation, on whom I now call.

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Mr. JOHNS: It is a privilege for me to address this body today on this important matter of international concern, and I am particularly pleased that our meeting comes at a time of such great opportunity for South Africa. Any objective onlooker must notice the new reality in South Africa: apartheid is melting, and we stand on the eve of the emergence of a new political system in that nation. This is a positive development and a reason for hope.

For so many years those of us active in the South Africa issue were displeased that the situation in that country was, frankly, a never-ending crisis. Reforms were implemented, but often they were only cosmetic. The violence continued, often taking the lives of innocent civilians; and, isolated by international economic and financial sanctions, South Africa's economy deteriorated, resulting in a growing pool of unemployed and underemployed South Africans, most of whom were black. Many of us searched hard for a light of hope in South Africa, but, honestly, that light of hope was difficult to find.

Now, I sense, all this is changing. Black political organizations have been unbanned. The state of emergency and the Separate Amenities Act have been lifted. Most political prisoners have been released. And, perhaps most important, negotiations will soon begin on a new South African constitution, paving the way potentially for a democratic South Africa.

There were many reasons for South Africa's economic, social and political ills, but at the root of them was the system of apartheid, among the most detested contemporary political systems on our planet. Fortunately, this fact is now accepted by the South African Government of F.W. de Klerk, by the vast majority of white South Africans and by virtually every political organization in South Africa. De Klerk said on 2 February 1990 that the new South Africa would include

> "a new, democratic constitution; a universal franchise; no domination of one race by another; equality before an independent judiciary; [and] the protection of minorities' as well as individual rights."

(Mr. Johns)

With apartheid's collapse, there are two questions we should be asking ourselves. The first question is the less important of the two, but it will have relevance for historians and it will have some bearing on our future policy towards South Africa. It is this: why is apartheid, a system that has survived for decades, collapsing now; what factors sparked this change of direction by South Africa's leadership? There is an enormous temptation to jump to what many may consider an obvious conclusion: that American and international sanctions were the reason. Sanctions, no doubt, sent a signal to South Africa, but I think there were two primary factors that sparked the change currently under way in that country.

The first is the dramatic changes sweeping our planet. For many years, the South African Government feared the African National Congress (ANC) because it viewed the organization as a tool of Soviet expansionism in southern Africa. Now that Moscow has begun to retreat on its military and other support for the ANC, the Government has felt more confident that it can deal with the ANC as a nationalistic political party. No longer does the Government view the ANC as a national security threat.

The second reason for the changes in South Africa is the consensus among white South Africans that apartheid should be dismantled. When De Klerk was elected in September 1989 he campaigned against the apartheid system. Since his election, his reforms have been implemented faster than many expected, but these reforms were made possible politically by a white electorate that now clearly rejects the apartheid system.

The reasons for South Africa's reforms may be debated for years. We, have a second, more important, question to ask ourselves: what is our job, now that apartheid is disintegrating? I hope we can all ask ourselves this question, because our task can no longer be one of simply opposing apartheid. We

(Mr. Johns)

need to support something in South Africa, and that something, I believe, should be a system that respects the individual rights and liberties of all South Africans. Our objective should be the establishment of a free South Africa.

How do we achieve this? Let me say first of all that we do do it not by supporting one or other political party in South Africa, but rather by supporting a system based in freedom. No longer should those of us in the anti-apartheid struggle consider ourselves backers of the ANC, or the Inkatha Freedom Party, or other such parties. The people of South Africa must decide which of these parties they wish to represent them in the administrative and legislative branches of a post-apartheid Government.

For our part, we should help with the institutionalization of genuine liberty. I am pleased that my Government, that of the United States, has opted to send $10 million to South Africa for exactly this purpose. It is my hope that this assistance can help create a democratic infrastructure where none has previously existed.

I hope too that the United Nations will begin to look objectively at South Africa's political parties. If you are going to help the ANC, then consider also helping other parties in South Africa. It may be wise not to choose sides. Leave that decision to the South African people. Instead, help ensure that apartheid is not replaced with another form of tyranny, that apartheid's collapse leads to genuine freedom and economic development.

One area in which you can be helpful in assisting South Africa's black majority economically is by lifting sanctions. The combined unemployment and underemployment figure in South Africa's black majority now stands at a staggering 47 per cent, largely because South Africa, an export-driven economy, has been denied access to many foreign markets. With apartheid crumbling, the time has come

(Mr. Johns)

to consider lifting these sanctions. It is time to listen to the voices of South Africa's black majority, 82 per cent of whom, according to the latest Gallup poll, oppose sanctions as a means of ending apartheid.

Let me leave you today with this thought. Many of you may have a different stand from mine on the question of sanctions. Let us leave that behind us. It is no longer the relevant or predominant issue in international policy towards South Africa. Speaking for my country, I can say that there is no doubt that sanctions against South Africa will soon be removed, perhaps as early as February or March. And the international community is already responding to the changes under way in South Africa; Governments in Africa and Europe are adjusting their policies to reflect the rapid changes there. They are restoring landing rights for South African commercial aircraft and lifting sanctions against that country.

So now the time has come in the evolution of international policy towards South Africa for us to cease focusing on what we oppose and begin focusing on the more important question of what we support.

I would suggest that our objective in South Africa should be nothing less than that which we seek elsewhere in the world: the triumph of individual liberties and recognition of the right of all men and women to live their lives and pursue their destinies without a Government impeding their economic and political freedoms. If we achieve this, South Africa may become an example for Africa and the world, and all of us can take a bit of joy in our small but important contribution to helping this embattled nation reach its new beginning.

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is the representative of the Jefferson Educational Foundation, Mr. David H. Barron.

Mr. BARRON: I want to thank the Committee for giving me the opportunity to address it on an issue of great concern to millions in the southern African region and around the world: how can we best promote and support the process of reform in South Africa? It is a question addressed by the United Nations and many legislative bodies and one to which there are no easy answers. The goal of the policy is simple and indisputable: the end of racial discrimination. The method to achieve that goal, however, has been a hotly debated topic for several years. To understand the issue one needs to know where South Africa has been, where it is now and where the new policies are attempting to lead it.

One year ago I stood before this very Committee asking that South Africa be given the benefit of the doubt in its attempt to end apartheid. In that time the very fabric of South African society has undergone a dramatic change which mandates that the United Nations re-evaluate its policies and attitudes towards South Africa.

The developments in South Africa rival the wondrous events of Eastern Europe in both scope and intensity. With our support and encouragement through pro-active involvement in the reform process, the world community can offer valuable and much-needed assistance to the heroic efforts of those creating dynamic and unforeseen change in South Africa.

The Government of F. W. de Klerk has vigorously pursued the abolition of the last remaining vestiges of the apartheid system. It has moved with far greater speed and effectiveness than most observers deemed possible in rooting out a system long ago denounced by the majority of South Africans, both black and white.

While the intensity and desire of the De Klerk Administration to end apartheid in South Africa has been questioned over and over again, the results of their efforts speak volumes about their sincerity. Who could have imagined only a year

(Mr. Barron)

ago the exciting and irreversible changes that have taken place in South Africa? Truly, South Africans can realistically look to a day in the near future when they can enjoy a fully democratic Government and a free market economy.

The isolation of South Africa was intended to have a positive effect on the process of reform and to ensure change. The unbanning of political parties, the commitment to democratic reform and the repeal of the Land Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Group Areas Act are tangible and irrefutable evidence that South Africa has made great strides towards a fully integrated and non-racial society. No longer can this body, or any legislative body in the world, deny that truly historic changes have taken place in South Africa. Consequently, the objectives of diplomatic, economic and social isolation no longer serve the purposes of the world community.

To be sure, there are still many problems in South Africa. The pervasive violence between the Xhosas and Zulus, which has left at least 850 dead since mid-August, the white conservatives' staunch resistance to change, the support of opposition parties for the failed policies of the Communist doctrine, and the need to adopt a new constitution which ensures the rights of all minorities, still impede South Africa's unrelenting progress towards a new South Africa.

The rapid and irreversible changes which have occurred, however, are cause for a complete re-examination of the world's attitudes towards South Africa. The new constitution will provide a vote of equal value to all citizens, both black and white. It will guarantee a free and independent judiciary and will codify a bill of rights. These are historic achievements on a continent where very few democratic experiments have ever succeeded.

South Africa is the engine of change for the entire sub-Saharan region of Africa. The success of its initiatives will be the model for other nations to follow, and international support, not condemnation, is a key to that success. It

(Mr. Barron)

would be a tragedy of major proportions if the South African experiment failed because of international neglect and downright hostility. The countries of southern Africa look to South Africa as their economic hope. Thousands upon thousands of blacks have jobs because of South Africa's modern economy. By continuing the frontal assault on the South African economy, we hurt millions of families dependent upon it for their survival. Nowhere in the region has a country built a comparable economic base, and without South Africa the entire region runs the perilous risk of falling into an economic depression which will drain the very life-blood from the democratic movements.

It is time to embrace South Africa's genuine commitment to reform. The future of South Africa stands in the balance. South Africa is weighed down by the burden of world attention and is striving hard to regain its stature in the eyes of the international community. The nation deserves encouragement for the progress that has been made, and assistance in completing its reformation.

Surely those of us here today have all battled ethnic and racial tensions in our own countries. These demons, we can all agree, have proved impossible to extract completely. In fact, the re-emergence of deeply-rooted ethnic tensions has been a major story of the change in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union since the downfall of communism. For 40 years centuries-old ethnic rivalries have simmered well below the boiling point because of a greater evil confronted by the nation as a whole. However, as we have seen in Yugoslavia, Hungary, Estonia, Latvia and many other regions of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the moment freedom of expression and movement is returned to the people, these tensions quickly rise to the surface. What 40 years of brutally oppressive communism has failed to defeat throughout Eastern Europe we cannot expect the South African Government to overcome in months. The hope of any nation confronted by racial or ethnic divisions lies in

(Mr. Barron)

building a foundation of co-operation and mutual respect. There must be incentive for people to put aside personal differences for the greater good. In South Africa the climate is ripe for realization of that greater good but it needs support, not discouragement, from the world community.

There is a danger that forces opposed to change in South Africa will turn the tide of reform if a positive response is not received from the United Nations and other organizations. The will to change will be severely dampened unless the Government can point to specific examples of positive response from the international community. Already, the progressive Governments of Western Europe have relaxed sanctions in order to recognize the considerable progress being made. South Africa desperately seeks the approval of the United Nations, and the results of this hearing will be closely watched by all of South Africa.

This Committee has before it an opportunity to move in a new direction: one away from hostility and towards pro-active responses which move with, not against, the winds of change in South Africa. Formal recognition of South Africa's progress, whether that be through admission to sporting events or other measures, will offer the reformers in South Africa the proverbial carrot to continue change and will make the transition smoother and more expedient.

The reform movement in South Africa cannot survive on vague and distant promises of economic co-operation. As we have seen, those most likely to suffer further are the ones that sanctions and other punitive actions have attempted to help. An immediate and sincere re-examination of the United Nations policy towards South Africa will provide even greater incentive for reform and will help carry the banner of a new South Africa: one that works towards achieving the delicate balance of racial harmony so essential for a peaceful existence and the transfer of power to a new Government.

(Mr. Barron)

It is to that task that this Committee should be applying itself. A great opportunity for positive change awaits South Africa but we must be players in the game, not merely referees ready only to call fouls. Recognizing and encouraging the positive developments in South Africa will provide reformers with the ammunition to fight those who want to delay or thwart the progressive, democratic initiatives currently gaining momentum in South Africa. Their success is dependent upon your encouragement. We stand on the threshold of welcoming a new, fully democratic South Africa into the fold of the world community. It is an exciting time for South Africans as well as for supporters of democracy the world over. Our strong commitment to work with, and not against, reformation in South Africa will lead to the day when racial barriers no longer artificially impede economic and political success. Too lofty a goal? Hardly! With the Committee's support, it will be achieved.

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is the representative of the American-South African Peoples' Friendship Association, Mr. Bojana V. Jordan.

Mr. JORDAN: On behalf of the American-South African Peoples' Friendship Association, I wish to thank the Special Committee for inviting us to make a statement before it on the crucial and burning question of racist South Africa. You have provided us with an opportunity today to address one of the most critical trends to be noted in South Africa this year, that is, the South African Government's attempt to convince the world of its sincerity about ridding the country of the diabolical system of apartheid. Yet their actions lead to the observation that the people of Azania/South Africa and the liberation movements are as far as ever from their goals of freedom, well-being and self-determination.

The first example of this double-talk/contrary action is the so-called blacks-on-blacks fighting. As we observed here on 11 September last, the so-called black-on-black feud in the country has cost about 5,000 lives. This was and still is a direct creation of the racist régime in their tactics of divide and rule. Subsequent confessions and revelations by some of the participants in those murder orgies have proved us correct.

Propitious conditions for the people's unnecessary, wanton slaughter of each other were created by the Government's balkanization of workers in residential hostels. In these hostels workers are divided according to ethnicity. Some ethnic groups receive differential treatment, with special privileges dangled before them. These policies are still being pursued by government officials in these hostels. Most progressive organizations in the country have demanded that these hostels be done away with forthwith.

Likewise, the Government has been encouraging and arming one group - for example, Inkatha - to attack anti-apartheid groups. Once set in motion, this bitter feud continues to deprive the people of Azania of life, liberty and

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happiness. We call earnestly on the warring Africans to bury the hatchet and concentrate their energies on overthrowing the real people's enemy - the racist Government of the Republic of South Africa.

Another example of the racist Government proposing one thing before the international community, to portray itself as reformist, while at the same time forcing the opposite on the South African people is seen in the unbanning of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) as a political organization and the refusal thereafter to allow PAC members to become active participants in the political process. Many examples could be given to prove this feigning of good intentions when the real effort is not forthcoming.

The Government has condemned peaceful protests and strikes against apartheid. In many areas permits have been refused to political groups, and when members have gathered for peaceful political activities they have been met with tear-gas, bullets and force by police or armed government units. This year, 1990, the Government is preventing both structure and function in the political process from taking place.

More specifically, our trust and faith in the Government's intentions on reforms were dashed when the Government of South Africa refused visas to PAC members of the external mission to attend the funeral of the President of the PAC, the late comrade Zeph Mothopeng, in October. The Pan Africanist Congress is now planning to hold its first annual conference since being unbanned earlier this year in Johannesburg from 9 to 11 December 1990.

As if to add insult to injury, in a letter dated 9 November, and received on 15 November at PAC headquarters, the Minister of Constitutional Development, the racist G. Van N. Viljoen, blatantly refused to grant indemnity to PAC members of the External Central Committee and others who have the legitimate right to attend

(Mr. Jordan)

the conference of their supposedly unbanned, legal organization. The Government argued that the PAC should "distance itself from armed struggle" before it could send its exiles home. Apparently only those organizations and people that are prepared to dance to the apartheid tune and music are welcome to enter South Africa. Correspondingly, the unbanning of the PAC means nothing to the Government of South Africa unless the PAC members agree to come and sit at the negotiating table and accept whatever crumbs are offered. This is not just political action; this is despotism in its highest form.

As to the question of negotiations, we feel that the Government has to agree to the elimination of certain pillars of apartheid on which there can be no compromise before settling down to the business of negotiating a non-racial democratic Azania. The fundamental pillars, as set out by the PAC - and we endorse this - are: first, the Population Registration Act; secondly, the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, on which is based the Group Areas Act; thirdly, the Bantu Education Act; fourthly, the tricameral parliamentary system; and, fifthly, the bantustans.

The so-called talks about talks have not touched on any of these. If the régime succeeds in drawing a section of the liberation movement into negotiating the creation of a propitious climate, the Government can only win time thereby and consequently prolong the life of apartheid. It is the mechanism to facilitate the drawing up of a new constitution that should be negotiated. We therefore endorse the call by the PAC for the holding of a one-person, one-vote, election to a single constituent assembly. We repeat our suspicion of the sincerity and integrity of the Government's position in the whole matter of negotiations.

(Mr. Jordan)

We call on the international community to join us in identifying the hypocrisy, the lies and the bluff that characterize De Klerk's reforms. Pressure must be reintensified to bring the South African Government to a position of abolishing all aspects of apartheid, racism and oppression. The liberation movements must continue to be supported by all freedom-loving people of the world. Let there be no doubt in people's minds: there has been no change worthy of note in the conditions of the people of Azania/South Africa. The so-called reforms, negotiations or talks about talks are just various ways of sugaring the bitter pill of oppression for the oppressed people of Azania/South Africa. We concur with the Heads of State of 19 East and southern African States which, as the economic summit was closed last Saturday in Mbabane, Swaziland, called for maintaining continued sanctions against Pretoria and for refusing to accept South Africa until the white minority rule is overthrown and all the people there are free.

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is the representative of the New African People's Organization, Mr. Ahmed Obafemi.

Mr. OBAFEMI: On behalf of the children, the women and the men of the New African People's Organization, on behalf of its Chairman, brother Chokwe Lumumba, and its Central Committee, and on behalf of the many new African political prisoners and prisoners of war incarcerated throughout the United States empire, who all struggle to free the domestic colonized African nation here, I greet you with our revolutionary battle cry: "Free the land".

It is with honour and respect that I address this prestigious body on behalf of my organization and state what we view as serious contradictions which still exist in occupied Azania, even with all the talk of change.

First, however, we should like to congratulate you, Sir, your country and, without question, President Musavini, whom I had the great honour of meeting, on

(Mr. Obafemi)

your principled and consistent support for the national liberation movement in occupied Azania and for all just struggles.

When asked what is new in Azania, we state unequivocally, "Nothing". There has been no significant change because the five pillars of apartheid are still intact: the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936; the Bantu Education Act; the bantustan system; the Population Act; and the tricameral parliamentary system, which includes whites, Asians and so-called coloureds - four unequal groupings, a caste system, if you will, with whites on top.

Indeed, with that in mind, and the present state of destabilization of the Azanian liberation movement perpetuated and sustained by the racist régime, how could we even think that there is some basis for negotiation? There is no basis for negotiation.

At this point, what we could legitimately support would be the convening of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one person one vote. Its mandate would be to draft a new constitution for a non-racial and democratic Azania. Furthermore, we believe that it is only the oppressed African majority that can say when meaningful and irreversible change has taken place.

We think that until that time the international community must keep the pressure on and intensify economic sanctions. Without question, the international community must continue to support all forms of struggle, including armed struggle.

Let me conclude with what I see as a most blatant and callous example, which explains why we view the white racist settler régime as devoid of any commitment to irreversible change in Azania. Upon the death of President Zephania Motopeng, the racist régime refused to allow the exiled leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania into the country for his funeral or for the upcoming convention of the Azanian masses which they represented. All this happened after the Minister of

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Constitutional Affairs had requested exploratory talks in a letter to President Motopheng. Not only does this have a negative effect on the régime, but it clearly exposes the lie that political organizations have been unbanned.

There is much talk about a new world order. What worries us about that concept is that in those discussions in which, to the best of my knowledge, only Europeans are participating, some of the nations here that have previously taken principled stands against the racist settler régime of South Africa may now be lining up at the bedroom door. We hope that we are wrong, but as our revolutionary martyr Malcolm X would tell us, only time will tell.

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is the representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mr. Ralph P. Boyd.

Mr. BOYD: With a deep sense of humility I take this extraordinary opportunity to extend my sincere appreciation to this great Special Political Committee of the United Nations for allowing me to speak on behalf of my fellow Americans about the perspective on the turbulent and historic events that are taking place in a rapidly changing South Africa and that must continue to take priority in the United Nations quest for freedom and security for all the people of the world.

I am a combat veteran of the Second World War. I experienced human suffering and the tragedy of war abroad and witnessed the flight of victims. That has given me the motivation and courage to continue to strive for the betterment of humankind wherever injustice prevails. This has been my mission in the past, and it is my commitment for the future.

Having lived a successful life for nearly two thirds of this century, I am convinced that people of goodwill, regardless of their race, colour, creed or origin, can meet on higher ground to solve our common problems and the needs that separate us.

(Mr. Boyd)

Attainment of this goal requires hope, faith and the vision to pursue the course. Progress is halted only when human beings stand in the way.

Reference is commonly made to the repeated assertion "My country right or wrong." As for me, I have to ask myself whether this assertion is consistent with my duties and final loyalty as a Christian citizen. Then, when I am certain that that policy of my country or of any other nation is in conflict with God's will, does it call for a proper response?

In searching for more direction I found in the Book of Isaiah, chapter 58, verses 6 and 7, that the prophet Isaiah said the following:

> "I want you to share your bread with the hungry, the poor, and remove the yoke of injustice, and let the oppressed go free."

South Africa in the year 1990 is still not free - do you realize that? You know that the Russian empire has crumbled since I was here last year, that Eastern Europe has been divested of its yoke of slavery. Why then not South Africa?

Yesterday evening a foreign correspondent for one of the major television networks said, in a three-minute report from South Africa, that that country, rich in mineral resources, was facing a lost generation of its youth owing to the fact that "apartheid has not ended". It is still alive.

The question immediately arose why this is so. I respectfully ask the same question of you today.

As far as we could understand from the reporter's words, the young blacks in the grassroots movement have decided not to go to school because of the conditions of shame and inferiority. They now realize the price their parents and family have paid by being patient and enduring the hardships and the unkept promises during their brief life in apartheid South Africa. Yes, it is a sad commentary for all of us to digest.

(Mr. Boyd)

So is it any wonder that the cry of freedom now, which was voiced by the reporter on the young people's pronouncement, is "Liberation comes before education". They have understood the experience that has been their lot; they understand that the political struggle, with all its ramifications, must come to pass in order to give hope for a better tomorrow.

After this broadcast there was a link-up with a recent official of the Pan Africanist Congress, who gave a viewpoint different from that cited in the newscast. We realize that other radio and television stations, and other branches of the media, do not report objectively what is taking place in South Africa. He stated that positive progress was being made in the struggle and not being mentioned, but he cautioned that forces were at work to prevent images of real progress, as well as of repression, being conveyed to you.

Continuing my conversation with the returning envoy, my attention was focused on the fact that it will very soon be one year since the release of Nelson Mandela from his 27 years of captivity. Now the propaganda mill will churn out for you to digest statements that everything is fine following the lifting of certain restrictions on press coverage by President F.W. de Klerk. Also, instances of certain exiled prisoners being released and other minor, long-awaited concessions will receive high exposure in the media. But the score tallies reveal that Nelson Mandela is still not free. Like 80 per cent of his native countrymen, he cannot vote in his native land.

It is my sincere hope and the concern of many of my fellow Americans and friends that this great deliberative body of the world community will continue to endeavour with uncompromising zeal to convey the truth in a forthright manner, to enable freedom to come to the people of South Africa with all deliberate speed.

(Mr. Boyd)

Let us redouble our efforts to intensify sanctions against South Africa. Let us increase our material support for the liberation movement to enable it to overthrow the system of apartheid by whatever means it has at its disposal.

We realize that the fate of South Africa depends on the coming together of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress as one body in solidarity in order that the end of apartheid and a new constitution for all of the people of South Africa may be achieved.

There are some hopeful signs as we gather here today. I am informed that at this very hour Mr. Mandela is meeting President De Klerk to discuss negotiations aimed at ending apartheid and giving political power to the black majority. We are encouraged that Mr. Clarence Makwethu, acting head of the Pan Africanist Congress, is in agreement with a call by Mr. Mandela for them to join hands in a united effort for peace.

Finally, I note, on behalf of many of my colleagues, that the late slave educator, Mr. Frederick Douglas, once said, "Man has never relinquished power without a fight", and others have noted that people with power never pass it to the powerless.

It is indeed an honour and a privilege for me to speak to you. We thank you for this opportunity and pray that this international body will look very thoroughly at what needs to be done in our world.

The CHAIRMAN: I call now on the representative of the South African Azanian Student Movement, Ms. Mantsha Mohohlo.

Ms. MOHOHLO: At the outset I should like to thank the chairperson, the Ambassador of Uganda, and his country for the support given to our country in our strugle for national liberation. I should also like to thank President Museveni of Uganda, the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, for his support

(Ms. Mohohlo)

in our struggle for freedom and justice. Most of all I should like to thank you for affording me this opportunity to address this very important committee about the situation in South Africa.

I am a student, and a member of the South African Azanian Student Movement (SAAzM). Although SAAzM is a non-sectarian organization, as students we cannot sit back and divorce ourselves from what is taking place at home.

(Ms. Mohohlo)

What I believe about the situation in South Africa is that up to now fundamental changes have not occurred. Changes which have taken place are only cosmetic or superficial. Yes, Mr. Mandela has been released from prison and the state of emergency has been lifted, but the pillars of apartheid are still intact - to mention but a few examples: the Land Acts, the Group Areas Act and the fact that so far most of the refugees cannot go home. What this means is that I still cannot buy land, except in the so-called homelands, or live where I want or get equal education. I still cannot get equal access to health care. It is stated that the health care services have been desegregated. But, as a black person, I still have to pay a lot, in terms of time and money, to get decent health care, as decent health-care services are in the cities, far away from my reach, and not in the townships. I believe that South Africa has now entered into the most critical period. Violence is escalating in the townships, with more people reported dead daily - the so-called black-on-black violence.

My appeal to the Committee is that sanctions should not be lifted now. Instead, they should be intensified. It is stated that the blacks will suffer more if sanctions are intensified. Instead, as blacks, we draw our strength from our weaknesses. As a black person, a woman, a single parent and a student, among other roles, I have learned to turn my troubles into opportunities that will propel me to greater heights. For me, to be a student in America, miles away from home, meant that I had to make very important sacrifices. I had to give up my house, because I could not afford to pay rent. I had to leave my children behind, with a mother who is blind, because I cannot afford to have them with me while I am still studying in the United States. My family knows the anger, the bitterness, the frustration of being harassed by policemen. In 1963 my brother was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment in Robbeneiland, and died in prison after having served 12 years of

(Ms. Mohohlo)

his prison term. The family was devastated. But in our powerlessness, we have learned to be powerful. Although I am relating this story to the Committee as an individual, these are the general conditions which confront most blacks in South Africa and the sacrifices we are prepared to make.

I believe that the United Nations is prepared to enforce sanctions in Iraq until the hostages are free, probably until Kuwait is free. I therefore do not understand why the sanctions should be lifted in South Africa at this point, when we, as blacks, are still hostages of the brutal system called apartheid. Apartheid cannot be reformed; it must be dismantled. I also believe that if South Africa is not free, the rest of the world will not be free, because we are a unified whole.

I thank you for listening to me, and hope that this address has given you a picture of South Africa from a black South African perspective. We want a non-racial and non-sexist South Africa. Freedom for all!

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the representative of African Echoes, Mr. Inuni Aaron.

Mr. AARON: Thank you for the privilege of addressing the Special Political Committee. I am aware that the revolutionary Government of Uganda, which won its liberation through protracted struggle, recognizes the need for this path to independence when all others fail. Mr. Chairman, I wish to express our appreciation for your Government's commitment to the eradication of racism and white supremacy and, above all, to working towards a free and united Africa. I know that you, Sir, are fully apprised of the workings of this system of oppression, based on your extensive experience as a student and a teacher and your academic credentials as a professor who has taught in this country. Thank you for the honour you have done me in permitting me to share my remarks with the Committee which you are now chairing.

(Mr. Aaron)

On behalf of the Co-ordinating Committee of African Echoes, I have been instructed to state that we implore this body to maintain the sanctions against a racist, minority, undemocratic, oppressive régime that strangled the brave Azanians in their homeland, mistakenly referred to as South Africa.

History shows that a group of Dutch trekkers landed on the southern coast of Africa in 1652 unannounced, unexpected, uninvited and unheralded. Since there was no one there to greet them, they made the arrogant assumption that they were welcome and that the land was theirs. What Boers! Who gave them the deed to the land they never owned? From that cursed day, Azanians have been dispossessed of their land and have fought many an epic battle against these land-grabbers. All these dispossessed people need is their land. Instead, they have had to fight for their liberty, and today they are fighting for their very lives.

Fight they must. De Klerk, a past master in the art of cunning, deceit and illusion, also, like many of his ilk, would like to give the impression that the system which he heads, a system of white supremacy, has changed. But let us look at objective reality. Do not listen to the words. Let us look at the laws of oppression that govern that land. The pillars of white supremacy are still very firmly intact.

First, the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, which dispossessed Azanians, who make up 87 per cent of the population of the land to which they have no real attachment, are still in place. De Klerk has changed - right? But have these Acts been abolished?

Secondly, there is the Population Registration Act. This evil and demonic system divided up the inhabitants into four racial groups with, of course, the white minority at the top controlling the power, and the majority at the bottom. De Klerk has changed, but has this changed?

(Mr. Aaron)

Thirdly, there is the Bantu Education Act, which was an attempt to impose inferior education on young Azanians. However, these brave young men and women fought in 1976, at very great cost. Has that changed? We are told that De Klerk has.

What about the tricameral parliamentary system, which was an attempt by these racists to co-opt sections of the opposition in a junior partnership with oppression. The vast majority of the opposition rejected this tricameral legal farce. But we are still told that De Klerk has changed.

As to bantustans, they are still in place. The international community not only has condemned, but has also rejected the balkanization of Azania. Listen to the words - listen to them, but ponder very carefully the laws and actions of De Klerk. Nothing has changed. In fact, the United Nations should commend and welcome the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) for its progressive and constructive suggestions concerning a constituent assembly and a one person, one vote system. Is this not the so-called democratic system, based on multiparty participation? Is this not the democracy that the United States has been willing to inflict at gunpoint on régimes it considers undemocratic? Should I remind you of Nicaragua, among other countries?

(Mr. Aaron)

In our opinion, it is only within the framework of a constituent assembly that the two basic and fundamental questions - those of fair representation and a written constitution - will be resolved. Anything short of this would be an out-and-out insult, bearing in mind the centuries of struggle, the countless deaths and the frustration of the true aspirations of the Azanian people. If the one person, one vote, principle is a right of Europeans, nothing less should be suggested for Azanians.

What is there to talk about? What is there to negotiate? Yet De Klerk says that the system has changed.

How can one reason with a group that has a trekking mentality? Need I remind this Committee that the racist régime and its policies have been unanimously condemned by the United Nations as a crime against humanity, in accordance with the definition of genocide adopted on 8 December 1948? How can sober, thinking people sit with the operators of such a despicable system? So long as De Klerk upholds the pillars of white supremacy and its oppressive laws, we in African Echoes will call on the United Nations to continue its condemnation, support sanctions and endorse whatever steps the struggling people of Azania may have to take to liberate themselves and their land. Any change in that stance would be premature. On the question of sanctions, I remind the Committee that the United States has imposed sanctions against Cuba for almost 30 years, yet nobody talks about removing those.

The United Nations General Assembly must support the continued intensification of all forms of struggle, and freedom-loving people throughout the world should support the cause of the Azanians.

I repeat that there are no significant changes in Azania today. Some hapless, self-serving, racist sympathizers may come here and say that changes have taken place, but look at the facts. Such people claim that political parties have been unbanned. So what? This is so trivial that it is insulting. It is a cruel hoax,

(Mr. Aaron)

and part of De Klerk's subterfuge. Parties have been unbanned, but parties cannot organize the people. And even if they could, the people cannot vote. This is a hoax. The representatives of the PAC who were abroad were recently refused entry into the country, while at another level the Minister for Constitutional Development plays games with the internal leadership by calling on them to participate in talks about talks. The only talks that take place are about land.

We appeal to you, Mr. Chairman, and to the Committee in general to support the liberation movement, its programmes and its reasoned requests until such time as there are meaningful changes - which the Azanian people will determine.

In conclusion, I say to oppressors, invaders and illegal occupiers of Africa: "Beware! Our liberation is just a revolution away."

The CHAIRMAN: We have heard the last speaker. The Committee has thus concluded its consideration of agenda item 34. The Rapporteur will present the Committee's report to the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.